

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 0701

FOR NEA/RA

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CENTO, PFOR
SUBJECT: CENTO POLITICAL GUIDANCE PAPER

REF: (A) ANKARA 0207, (B) STATE 7798

1. THE MEETING OF THE CENTO POLITICAL WORKING GROUP ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR JAN. 17 WAS HELD JAN. 25. IN THE COURSE OF THE MEETING, PARAGRAPHS 2, 6, 9, 10, 13 AND 14 OF THE DRAFT PAPER "POLITICAL GUIDANCE FOR MILITARY PLANNING" (REVISION 3) WERE DISCUSSED. AN ADDITIONAL AGENDA ITEM--REVIEW OF THE SITUATION PAPER--WAS AGAIN DEFERRED PENDING RECEIPT OF INSTRUCTIONS BY THE IRANIAN REP

2. DISCUSSION OF PARAGRAPH 2 BEGAN WITH THE PAKISTANI REP STATING THAT HE HAD NOT RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE REVISED TEXT CIRCULATED BY THE SECRETARIAT AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING (REF A). HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE COULD ACCEPT THE FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 2 IN REVISION 2. THE TURKISH DELEGATE NOTED THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REVISION 2 AND REVISION 3 HAD BEEN MADE PRIMARILY TO SATISFY TURKISH DESIRES. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT COULD ACCEPT THIS PORTION OF REVISION 2 IF THE FINAL SENTENCE OF REVISION 3 WERE ADDED TO IT. ALL OTHER DELEGATES SUGGESTED THAT

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THE TURKISH PROPOSAL SEEMED TO REPRESENT A FEASIBLE COMPROMISE AND PARAGRAPH 2 WAS APPROVED AD REFERENDUM. THE APPROVED TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 2 IS:

"THE MAIN THREAT TO THE AREA AND TO THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF CENTO MEMBER COUNTRIES COMES FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE USSR AIMS EVENTUALLY TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A DOMINANT MAJOR POWER IN THE AREA BY THE COORDINATED USE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SUBVERSIVE

AND MILITARY MEANS TO DISPLACE THE TIES OF THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES WITH THE WESTERN WORLD, INCLUDING THE WEAKENING OR ELIMINATION OF ALLIANCES AND DEFENSE AND ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS. WHILE SUBVERSION IS THE MAIN FORM THAT THE THREAT MAY TAKE, THE MILITARY CAPABILITY OF THE SOVIET UNION CONSTITUTES A FORMIDABLE ELEMENT IN THE GENERAL THREAT TO THE CENTO REGION."

3. THE UK REP PRESENTED A SUGGESTED REVISION OF PARAGRAPH 6 WHICH WAS ACCEPTED BY ALL OTHER DELEGATES. THE REVISED TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 6 READS AS FOLLOWS:

"THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO HAVE INTENSIFIED ITS DESIRE TO PLAY A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE AREA. IT SEEKS TO ACQUIRE A SAY IN THE DISPOSAL OF NATURAL, AND IN PARTICULAR ENERGY RESOURCES IN THE AREA. (IT CAN PERHAPS BE ARGUED THAT CONTROL OF MIDDLE EAST OIL SUPPLIES MIGHT HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WESTERN ALLIANCE). THE SOVIET UNION DEVELOPS TRADE AND PROVIDES GENERAL ECONOMIC AS WELL AS MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES IN THE AREA IN SUPPORT OF ITS POLITICAL AIMS, PAYING PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE NEIGHBOURS OF CENTO REGIONAL MEMBERS."

4. PARAGRAPH 9 WAS ACCEPTED BY ALL DELEGATES AFTER THE DELETION OF TWO WORDS: "HOWEVER" IN THE SECOND SENTENCE AND "THEORETICAL" IN THE THIRD.

5. DURING THE DISCUSSION OF PARAGRAPH 10, THE U.S. REP SOUGHT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH REF B, CLARIFICATION OF THE MEANING OF THE LAST SENTENCE. THE CHAIRMAN (SIRDAR HASSAN MAHMUD OF PAKISTAN, DEPUTY SEC GEN) SAID IN RESPONSE THAT THE SENTENCE HAD BEEN INCLUDED BECAUSE THERE HAD BEEN A GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT CENTO HAD NO CONFIDENTIAL

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COLLECTIVE ABILITY TO RESPOND TO SURPRISE ATTACKS FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THEREFORE, IT WAS CONSIDERED DESIRABLE TO SUGGEST THAT A CAPABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBER NATIONS TO RESPOND TO SUCH ATTACKS MIGHT ENHANCE THE DETERRENT VALUE OF CENTO. THE U.S. REP SAID THAT HIS SPECIFIC CONCERNS RELATED TO THE MEANING OF THE WORDS "INDICATION" AND "INTERVENTION RESPONSE" AS THEY WERE USED IN THE SENTENCE. THE CHAIRMAN SAID A LESS POETIC RENDITION OF "QUICK INTERVENTION RESPONSE" MIGHT BE "A QUICK RESPONSE TO AN INTERVENTION". (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THIS EXCHANGE WAS NOT VERY ENLIGHTENING ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 10, THE U.S. REP DID GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SENTENCE HAD NOT BEEN DESIGNED AS A DEVICE TO EXPAND U.S. COMMITMENTS TO CENTO. MOREOVER, THE SENTENCE APPARENTLY HAS SUPPORT OF ALL MEMBERS EXCEPT THE U.S. WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT AT THE NEXT MEETING WE PROPOSE THAT THE SENTENCE BE REVISED TO READ: "HOWEVER, THE SOVIET UNION HAS A CAPABILITY TO MOUNT A SURPRISE ATTACK; CONSEQUENTLY, THE ABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO SUCH INTERVENTION MIGHT ENHANCE THE DETERRENT VALUE OF CENTO." END COMMENT.)

6. THE U.K. REP BEGAN DISCUSSION OF PARAGRAPH 13 BY OFFERING AN EXTENSIVE REFORMULATION AS FOLLOWS: "THE SOVIET UNION ALSO ENCOURAGES THE PROVISION OF SUPPORT FOR SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS AND ALL LOCAL PRO-MOSCOW ELEMENTS IN CENTO REGIONAL COUNTRIES. IN THE EVENT OF POLITICAL UNREST IN ONE OF THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES, THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT SUPPORT A LOCAL INSURRECTION BY VARIOUS MEANS." THE CHAIRMAN ARGUED THAT THE PROPOSED REFORMULATION LEFT UNMENTIONED PROBLEMS SPECIFICALLY NOTED IN THE SITUATION PAPER AND HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THIS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. THE IRANIAN DELEGATE DID NOT COMMENT ON THE U.K. PROPOSAL, BUT REQUESTED THAT THE PHRASE "IRAQI SUPPORT FOR ELEMENTS IN IRAN" BE DELETED FROM THE REVISION 3 VERSION. THE PAKISTANI DELEGATE SAID THAT HE WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHETHER THE REFERENCE TO IRAQI SUPPORT FOR ELEMENTS IN PAKISTAN COULD ALSO BE DELETED. THE DISCUSSION ON PARAGRAPH 13 ENDED WITH NO AGREEMENT AND WITH ALL REPRESENTATIVES REQUESTED TO SEEK GUIDANCE. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE U.K. REFORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 13 PROVIDES EXCELLENT MEANS TO AVOID POTENTIALLY STICKY ISSUES. NEVER-CONFIDENTIAL

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THELESS, IF A CONSENSUS DEVELOPS IN FAVOR OF THE LANGUAGE OF REVISION 3, WE RECOMMEND THAT WE ACCEPT THAT FORMULATION.)

7. ALL REPRESENTATIVES ACCEPTED PARAGRAPH 14 WITHOUT CHANGE.

8. THE NEXT MEETING OF THE POLITICAL WORKING GROUP IS SCHEDULED FOR FEB. 15. AT THAT MEETING, DISCUSSION WILL BEGIN ON PARAGRAPHS 15, 16 AND 17 OF THE DRAFT PAPER "POLITICAL GUIDANCE FOR MILITARY PLANNING", REVISION 3.

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